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CONTENTS.

The State Historical Society of Missouri, by F. A. Sampson	50
The Story of the Civil War in Northeast Missouri, by Floyd C. Shoemaker	63
History of Missouri Baptist General Association, by E. W. Stephens	76
What I Saw at Wilson's Creek, by Joseph A. Mudd	89
Vanbibber Tavern, by Huron Bur	106
Notes	108
Book Notices	109
Necrology	110



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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI.

Why the State Should Give It a Fire-Proof Building—Facts About Its Collections.—Action of State Press Association.

While state aid to historical societies has been more freely and liberally given by the western than by the eastern states, yet this giving has not been confined to them; several states have made appropriations for the support of historical societies, and Ohio has lately given \$100,000 for a building for its historical society, to be erected on the grounds of its state university.

The state first thought of as a liberal supporter of its historical society is Wisconsin, a state of much less wealth than many others, and yet it erected a fine fire-proof building for the use of the State Historical Society and the University library, and it appropriates more than \$60,000 each biennium for the support of the society. The result is that Wisconsin is known in every civilized country of the world for the great efficiency and high standing of its historical society, and the historian of many of the other states has to go to Wisconsin to study the original sources of the history of his state.

Other states have appropriated money for homes for their historical societies, and Nebraska, Iowa and other states have put up buildings or are now doing so to preserve the historical material relating to them. Kansas has the best known historical society next to that of Wisconsin, and is now putting up

a \$200,000 building for it. Missouri should not allow itself to be behind Kansas, nor should it be contented without having a better building.

There are special reasons why Missouri should give its Historical Society a fire-proof building. Its capitol buildings have at two different times been destroyed by fire, and many of its publications as well as its manuscript records have been destroyed. Its Historical Society has as the result of systematic searching for and collecting these publications not only during the thirteen years of its existence, but of similar work for a longer period prior to the formation of the society the unrivalled collections in different lines relating to Missouri. This work of more than a generation in time for and by the Society has given it a mass of historical material so much greater than can be found any place else, that ordinary prudence demands it shall not be left liable to destruction by fire that is now at any time possible, and much of which if destroyed could never be replaced. For the student of Missouri history its library excels others in many things, and among them may be mentioned the following: of publications by Missouri authors it has more than any other library in or out of the state; of official publications of the state it has more than the state library and all the departments in Jefferson City combined; of the journals of the Missouri General Assembly it has more than the library of Congress; of bills of the Missouri General Assembly more than 14,000; of municipal publications of St. Louis it has more than the Public and Municipal libraries of St. Louis; of those of Kansas City more than the Kansas City Public library; of those of St. Joseph more than the St. Joseph Public library; of books and pamphlets published in or about Sedalia more than the Sedalia Public library; and of these other things more than any other library; of the biographies of Missourians, and of genealogies by Missouri authors; of books of travel that include Missouri; of the proceedings of societies and fraternities in Missouri; of bound volumes of Missouri newspapers and other periodicals, now about 9,000 volumes; of college and school periodicals, numbering more than 225 different ones; of the annual reports and other publi-

ations of the railroad companies that come into the state; and of the resource and descriptive publications of the country at large; and of the journals and minutes of religious associations in Missouri more than any other except one.

Its set of the journals of the legislature is complete of both the journals and appendixes of the Senate and House of the fifth and all subsequent General Assemblies, and a part of the first four; a complete set of the revised statutes and of the session laws commencing with the First General Assembly except two; a complete set of the Geological Survey reports of the state commencing with that of King in 1840; and great numbers of other publications generally that come under the title of "Missouriana."

If these things are true the state should give the society the support to which it is entitled, and a fire-proof home which will make its collections safe for the future. Mr. Trexler who is preparing a thesis for the degree of Ph. D. in Johns Hopkins University worked in the library of that university, the Library of Congress, and applied to or worked in the Mercantile, Public, W. C. Breckenridge and Historical Society libraries of St. Louis, and yet he found here original source material to keep him at work for weeks. Prof. A. B. Hart of Harvard University, one of the leading historical authorities of the United States, visited the rooms of the Society, and speaking of its library he said: "It is a rare collection. It is filled with documents, the value of which can not be estimated. No such collection could ever be gotten together again by any amount of money or effort."

The State Historical Society of Missouri was organized by the State Press Association, and the editors of the state have always been its firm supporters. Some 600 of them regularly send their publications to the Society, and the most of its trustees and officers are editors. At the late State Press Association meeting in Hannibal different members expressed themselves very strongly in favor of the state giving the society a proper support, and the following resolution was unanimously passed by it:

"Resolved, That the State Press Association of Missouri takes special pride in the great success of the State Historical Society of Missouri, which was originally organized by it; and it recommends and urges that the General Assembly of Missouri, without delay, shall provide a fire-proof building for the safe preservation of its priceless collections."

F. A. SAMPSON.

THE STORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN NORTHEAST MISSOURI. (1)

Missouri a Border State.

It is the purpose of this paper to give a brief account of the Civil War in Northeast Missouri. The term Northeast Missouri will be taken to include all that part of this State which lies north of the Missouri River and east of the western boundary of Linn County. The shortness of this article will forbid a treatment of this subject by individual counties and will not permit of any detailed account of either campaigns or battles. Many engagements and executions which took place during the war, and which are matters of common knowledge to the inhabitants of this section, will be but slightly touched upon owing to the necessity of economizing space. It is to be regretted that so little accurate information relating to the Civil War in Northeast Missouri can be obtained today by the historian. For example, it would seem to be a small affair to ascertain the exact number of soldiers contributed by this section to the Northern and Southern armies, but so far as can be learned no accurate figures have been produced to settle this point.

The Civil War has opened up a mine of material for the historian, biographer and novelist. To read the bare facts of that struggle causes the last three score years to roll away and places one in the midst of civil strife. The States that furnish the longest, fiercest and most embittered account are the "Border States." Several things made the conflict in these States more oppressive than in the other commonwealths: First, their position, lying between the North and the South, secured for them the battlefield; second, their population, which was more or less divided in sentiment during the war, made possible the most cruel and most prolonged kind of warfare; third, and closely related to the first fact, these States because of their importance, became the "Bone of Contention" for both North and South.

1. Acknowledgements are due to Dean Walter Williams, editor of the "History of Northeast Missouri," for the use of this paper prepared for that work.

All these facts are peculiarly applicable to Missouri and the events of the four years, 1861-1865, in this State bear witness to the above statements. That portion of this State which is designated in this paper as Northeast Missouri is a perfect picture of conditions as they existed in many parts of this commonwealth during the Civil War. In some respects person and property were more fortunate here than in other parts of this State, while in many ways both fared worse in this section than elsewhere. Northeast Missouri gave thousands of men to both sides, and, while most of her sons achieved honor, some became leaders of the highest note on the field of war. If it were possible in this paper nothing would be more delightful and entertaining than setting forth the biographical sketches of such men as Sterling Price, Odon Guitar, Generals Harris and Green, Colonel Porter and a score of others from this section. Northeast Missouri can well be proud of both the "quantity and quality" of the soldiers she sent to the front.

Before considering the war proper in this section of Missouri it might be well to state, by way of introduction, a few general facts setting forth first the importance of Missouri as a "Border State," her position, population and character of her people as regards color and nativity; second, the distribution of free and slave in Northeast Missouri; third, the general character of the war in this section; and fourth, the political conditions leading up to the war.

The importance of Missouri as a "Border State" was of the greatest significance. Her peculiar position alone would have made her a typical "Bone of Contention" for both the North and South. Nearly surrounded as she was on three sides by the free territory of Illinois, Iowa and Kansas, Missouri was eagerly sought for by the North and as anxiously desired by the South. As regards area Missouri ranked ahead of all the States east of or bordering on the Mississippi except Minnesota, while among the slave States she was excelled by Texas alone in this respect. Still more important was Missouri from the standpoint of population in 1860. Missouri's almost phenomenal growth in population from 1810 to 1860

can be partly appreciated from the following facts based on the appended table taken from the United States Census Report of 1860. According to this Report of 1860 Missouri's population in 1810 was: whites, 17,227; free colored, 607; slaves, 3,011; total, 20,845. In 1820, about the time of Missouri's admission into the Union, Missouri ranked twenty-third among the other States; in 1830, twenty-first; in 1840, sixteenth; in 1850, thirteenth; and in 1860, eighth in total population, but seventh in white population. The following table will perhaps give some idea of the rapid growth of population in this State during a half century:

Rate of Increase—Percentage.

Year	White	Free Col.	Slave	Total	White	Free Col.	Slave	Total	Rank
1810..	17227	607	3011	20845					
1820..	55988	347	10222	66557	225	(L)42.83	239.48	289.43	23
1830..	114795	569	25091	140455	105.03	63.97	145.46	110.94	21
1840..	323888	1574	58240	383702	182.14	176.62	132.11	173.18	16
1850..	592004	2618	87422	682044	82.78	66.32	50.10	77.75	13
1860..	1063489	3572	114931	1182012	79.64	36.44	31.47	73.30	8

Total rate of increase from 1810 to 1860—whites, 6073.38%; free colored, 488.47%; slaves, 3717.03%; total, 5570.48%.

Note—(L) refers to decrease.

Among the fifteen slave States, including Delaware, Missouri ranked first in total white population and in total population was surpassed only by Virginia. But what is equally important to the war historian is the strength of a Nation's war population, i. e., the males between the ages of 18 and 45 years. In this respect Missouri easily led all her sister Southern States, having 232,781 white males between those ages, or more than Virginia—her nearest competitor—and Florida and Delaware combined.

While Missouri ranked first in white population among slave States, she held only eleventh place as regards the number of slaves—the latter being 114,931 out of a total population of 1,182,012, or in other words only 9¾ per cent. of Missouri's total population in 1860 consisted of slaves.

As to the character of Missouri's white population a very interesting fact or two is brought to light, especially as regards

nativity. In 1860 only 160,541 persons, or 13½ per cent. of Missouri's population were of foreign birth—slightly over one-half of these being Germans who had settled in St. Louis and the surrounding counties to the west and north—about one-fourth of the foreign born were Irish and the remaining one-fourth of various nationalities. Of the 906,540 white persons of native birth i. e., born in the United States, over one-half were native Missourians and over three-quarters were of Southern birth i. e., born in a slave State—principally in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. At this point it should be noted how this free and slave poulation of Missouri was distributed in the section under consideration.

The total population of Northeast Missouri in 1860 was 309,232 as compared with 181,894 in 1850. This was a gain of 70 per cent. as compared with the gain of 73.3 per cent. all over the State during that decade. During the same period the white population of Northeast Missouri increased from 145,674 to 254,190 or 74½ per cent. as compared with the gain of 79.6 per cent. over the State as a whole. The slave population of Northeast Missouri in 1850 was 35,843 and in 1860 had risen to 46,021 or a gain of only 28 2-5 per cent. as compared with the gain of 31½ per cent. over the State. From these figures obtained from the United States Census Reports of 1850 and 1860 it is clearly seen that although slavery was increasing absolutely in actual number of slaves, it was going backward relatively i. e., as compared with the increase of either the total or free population of Missouri. Nor is this all, for when one compares the ratio of the slave population to the total population in 1850 and then in 1860, the decline of slavery as an institution is quite apparent. In 1850 the slaves constituted 12¾ per cent. of Missouri's population, while in 1860 they constituted only 9¾ per cent.: in Northeast Missouri the percentage in 1850 was 19¾, while in 1860 it was only 14¾. Notwithstanding the fact that this Northeast section of Missouri had seen a decrease in the ratio of her slave population to her total population between 1850 and 1860, she still contained about 41 per cent. of the slaves in Missouri—a position she also occupied in 1850. Out of the sixteen counties in Missouri which in 1860 had each a slave population of over

2,500, nine of these were of this section and these nine held 33,824 slaves or nearly 30 per cent. of the total slave population of the State and 73½ per cent. of the slave population of all Northeast Missouri. The nine counties that held such a unique position were Boone, Callaway, Howard, Monroe, Pike, Chariton, Lincoln, Marion and Randolph. At this point it might be interesting as well as instructive to note the relative position of the several counties in this section on this question of population. For this purpose the following table is given, which is taken from the United States Census Reports of 1850 and 1860. It will be necessary to refer to this table several times in the succeeding pages of this article:

**Population of Counties in Northeast Missouri in 1850 and 1860.
(Taken from U. S. Census for 1850-1860.)**

	1850				1860			
	W.	F. C.	S.	Total	W.	F. C.	S.	Total
Adair	2283	8	51	2342	8436	9	86	8531
Audrain	3048	1	457	3506	6909		1166	8075
Boone	11300	13	3666	14979	14399	53	5034	19486
Callaway	9895	25	3907	13827	12895	31	4523	17449
Chariton	5685	51	1778	7514	9672	51	2839	12562
Clark	5013	10	504	5527	11216	13	455	11684
Howard	9039	40	4890	13969	9986	74	5886	15946
Knox	2626	2	266	2894	8436	7	284	8727
Lewis	5357	15	1206	6578	10983	24	1279	12286
Lincoln	7389	5	2027	9421	11347	23	2840	14210
Linn	3679	2	377	4058	8509	26	577	9112
Macon	6262		303	6565	13673	13	660	14346
Marion	9322	76	2832	12230	15732	89	3017	18838
Monroe	8461	32	2048	10541	11722	42	3021	14785
Montgomery	4449	3	1037	5489	8061	10	1647	9718
Pike	10299	35	3275	13609	14302	60	4055	18417
Putnam	1617		19	1636	9176		31	9207
Ialls	4775	8	1368	6151	6788	13	1791	8592
Randolph	7262	21	2156	9439	8777	11	2619	11407
St. Charles	9492	13	1949	11454	14313	29	2181	16523
Schuylar	3230	2	55	3287	6658		39	6607
Scotland	3631		151	3782	8742		131	8873
Shelby	3744	11	498	4253	6565	12	724	7301
Sullivan	2895		88	2983	9095	1	102	9198
Warren	4921	4	935	5860	7798	7	1034	8839
Total	145674	377	35843	181894	254190	598	46021	309232
Total for Missouri.....	592004	2618	87422	682044	1063509	3572	114931	1182012

(Note—W., white; F. C., free colored; S., slave.)

The general character of the war in Northeast Missouri was determined by the nature of the country, transportation facilities, character of the population as regards both nativity and density, the number of Union troops, largely imported from Iowa and Illinois, and finally the needs of the Confederacy. As a result of these factors the Union and her forces strove to accomplish the following in the order enumerated: first, guard the Missouri River and prevent the Southern men from the northern part of this State from crossing on their way to join the Southern army, to guard and keep intact the two railroads of Northern Missouri, i. e., the Hannibal & St. Joseph and the Northern Missouri (now the Wabash) as a means of transporting troops and provisions of war into and across the State; second, to prevent the enlisting and organizing of Southern troops in this section; third, to occupy and thereby intimidate by means of Union troops, the strong slave counties. The South and her leaders in this State held the following objects in view and strove to bring about their realization: first, the enlistment of troops for Price and the Confederacy; second, the harassing of the Union troops in this section by striking sudden blows where least expected and capturing towns; third, and closely related to the second the destruction of railroads, bridges and trains.

The above statements hold true during 1861-1862, after that the warfare in this section degenerated into petty bushwhacking with such guerilla fiends as Bill Anderson and Quantrill as leaders, who respected neither Southerners nor Northerners. While the withdrawal of many of the Union troops made this kind of warfare possible, the forces of the North that remained did little besides trying to put down this robbing and murdering. Sometimes these bands by uniting made up a considerable force and engaged in open fight with the Federal troops, as was the case at Fayette and near Centralia in 1864, but usually the bands were too small for attacking a large force and preyed upon isolated communities and individuals.

Political Conditions in Missouri in 1860.

The year 1860 saw one of the most divided political contests in Missouri history. In the August election for Governor

there were four men in the field representing four different factions; first, the Douglass-Democratic candidate for Governor was Claiborne F. Jackson—the author of the famous "Jackson Resolutions" of the later 40's; second, the Bell-Everett or Union candidate was Sample Orr; third, the Breckinridge-Democratic candidate was Hancock Jackson; and fourth, the Republican candidate was James B. Gardenmire. The vote resulted in the election of Claiborne F. Jackson. This contest, if it showed anything regarding the position Missouri took on the national questions of slavery in the territories and secession, indicated clearly that she favored neither Northern nor Southern radicalism, but was overwhelmingly conservative, and would choose the middle ground. And in this respect the vote of Northeast Missouri was even more pronounced than the rest of the State, for while this section cast between one-third and one-fourth of the State vote for Claiborne F. Jackson and Orr, she gave Hancock Jackson only one-fifth of his total vote and Gardenmire a little over one-seventh of his. (Over one-half of Gardenmire's vote in Northeast Missouri was cast in the strong German county of St. Charles.)

When the November Presidential election took place, Missouri still adhered to her attitude taken in August—for she alone of all the States cast her electoral vote for Douglass, the conservative Democratic candidate. At the same time she cast nearly an equal individual vote for Bell, the Union candidate, and for Breckinridge and Lincoln but a little over one-fourth the total vote of the State. In this election Northeast Missouri gave Bell 1,604 more votes than she cast for Douglass, while on the other hand she gave Breckinridge over one-fourth of his total State vote and Lincoln not quite one-seventh of his total State vote. The following table indicates well the position taken by the individual counties on this important election. Thus it will be seen at a glance that the large slave counties in this section—the very ones that could reasonably be expected to have gone overwhelmingly for Breckinridge—either went for Bell or for Douglass. The only county in Northeast Missouri in which Breckinridge received more votes than any other candidate was the county of Sulli-

van, which in 1860 had only 102 slaves, or about one-ninetieth of its population. Of the six great slave counties, each with a slave population over 3,000, three cast typical "land-slide" votes for Bell and three for Bell and Douglass. Even Marion county, known as the "South Carolina of Missouri," cast three times as many votes for Bell and also for Douglass as for Breckinridge—being excelled in the latter by both Sullivan and Clark (the latter having only 455 slaves).

Northeast Missouri, like the remainder of the State, was simply not radical, but was essentially conservative, and on the whole vastly preferred the Union in spite of the binding ties of blood and interest.

**Vote for Governor, First Monday
in August, 1860.**

**Vote for President,
November, 1860.**

	Clayborn F. Jackson	Sample Orr	Hancock Jackson	James B. Gardnemire	Bell-Everett	Douglass	Breckinridge	Lincoln
Adair	822	504	4		293	616	339	185
Audrain	615	677	47		580	289	206	1
Boone	1066	1522	68		1671	578	652	12
Callaway	1080	1321	94	1	1306	839	472	15
Chariton	639	548	124	8	608	692	295	1
Clark	807	769	74	103	752	542	497	277
Howard	1099	743	28	1	920	939	247	1
Knox	844	526	3	8	520	687	301	161
Lewis	1018	848	101		833	468	597	43
Lincoln	885	634	307	13	725	806	396	3
Linn	796	668	7	19	546	521	219	105
Macon	1424	484	115		655	1176	414	134
Marion	1409	1322	149	2	1386	1240	432	235
Monroe	998	1059	117	1	1086	680	408	8
Montgomery	597	652	14	34	658	612	83	45
Pike	1548	1388	50	3	1300	1117	420	15
Putnam	728	350	118	8	369	590	246	111
Ralls	616	647	9	1	585	391	149	1
Randolph	828	852	183		821	360	520	
St. Charles	829	774	60	466	619	832	64	534
Schuylar	500	298	124	4	267	455	251	14
Shelby	621	576	95	91	702	476	293	90
Scotland	792	493	19	108	436	741	187	197
Sullivan	678	326	259	29	373	557	575	83
Warren	630	287	32	18	307	510	89	95
	21869	18262	2201	918	18318	16714	8352	2366
Total vote cast in Mo.	74446	66583	11415	6135	58373	58801	31317	17026

On December 31, 1860, the Twenty-first General Assembly convened in Jefferson City—just ten days before South Carolina seceded by ordinance from the Union. As had been expected this Legislature was composed of four political parties—three of which were nearly equal in strength and none in control. The Senate, with a membership of 33, held 15 Breckinridge-Democrats, 10 Douglas-Democrats, 7 Bell-Everett Unionists, and 1 Republican. The House, with a membership of 132, held 47 Breckinridge-Democrats, 37 Bell-Everett Unionists, 36 Douglass-Democrats, and 12 Republicans.

John McAfee, an extreme pro-slavery Democrat of Shelby county, was elected Speaker of the House. On January 4, 1861, Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, of Howard county, although elected as a Douglass-Democrat, in his inaugural address, said that Missouri's destiny was with the slave-holding States and that she should stand for the South. On January 6, the Committee on Federal Relations was instructed to report a bill to "call a convention" and on January 18th the bill calling a State convention passed. The tenth section of this bill was introduced by Charles H. Hardin, who was State Senator from Boone and Callaway, and provided whereby the convention was not to sever relations with the Union except on a vote of the people of Missouri. This convention was to determine the relations to be taken between Missouri and the Union.

The convention met February 28, 1861, and was composed of 99 delegates. Ex-Governor Sterling Price, of Chariton county, was elected President almost unanimously. It soon became apparent that the delegates were decidedly Union in sentiment and Sterling Price later resigned the office of President. Events in other parts of the country soon brought matters to a crisis. On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation for 75,000 troops and a request was sent to Governor Jackson for Missouri's pro rata of four regiments. Governor Jackson not only ignored this request but sent a very independently worded refusal. The course of Governor Jackson, Sterling Price, and others high in authority in this State greatly unsettled the people in their political faith. All hoped for a compromise. It was on May 10, 1861, that war first

broke out in Missouri. On that day the attack was made on Camp Jackson and this State was at once plunged into all the horrors of a Civil War.

The War in Northeast Missouri in 1861.

Even before the attack on Fort Sumter in South Carolina and Camp Jackson in St. Louis, there had been many open exhibitions of Northern and Southern sentiment in Northeast Missouri. Naturally the first occasion that called forth these expressions of partisanship was the State convention that was to meet in February to consider Missouri's relation to the North and South. During the spring of 1861 all over this section not only were these meetings continued but troops were raised and organized by both sides. The first Southern flag to be raised in Northeast Missouri was at Emerson in northwest Marion county on March 16, 1861, and just two weeks later the second Southern flag was spread at Palmyra in the same county.

The four counties of Lewis, Marion, Monroe and Ralls did much to keep alive the war in Northeast Missouri. They were the center of Southern sentiment, and owing largely to the topography of the country and the character of the inhabitants they were the recruiting grounds for the South in that section. The South was more active and really accomplished more here than elsewhere in that section and this in spite of the overwhelming Union force arrayed against her. To the forest recesses of the Southern recruiting camps of these counties flocked the Southern men of the surrounding counties and on collecting in a body would strike for the Missouri to join Price and the Confederacy. By the end of June, 1861, both Northern and Southern troops were being raised. In some of the large slave counties the enlistment of Southern men proceeded at a more rapid pace, although the Union sentiment even there placed thousands of recruits in the Northern ranks. Wherever the German element was strong, as in St. Charles, Warren and Montgomery counties, one naturally finds many recruits for the North. It seems very shortly to have been the plan of the Northern generals in Missouri to send large detachments of troops into those counties where the Southern

sentiment was or might become strong. This was what prevented many Southern sympathizers from ever obtaining an opportunity to enlist in the cause of the South. Some very noticeable examples of this policy are found in St. Charles, Fulton, Columbia, Fayette, Edina, Mexico, Hudson (now known as Macon City), Hannibal, Keytesville, and elsewhere in Northeast Missouri. This plan of the Union generals in Missouri went hand in hand with the one of patrolling the Missouri River in order to prevent any enlistments in Northeast Missouri for the South from reaching Price. Of equal importance in the eyes of the North was the protection of the two important railroads in this section—the Hannibal & St. Joseph and the Northern Missouri—as these enabled the Northern troops to keep in touch with each other and enabled reinforcements and supplies to be distributed quickly. These three plans were strictly adhered to and within less than two years had practically crushed the Southern cause throughout the State. By cutting Missouri into two parts and by garrisoning all important portions of the northern half, including the rich slave district of Northeast Missouri, the organizing of Southern troops was made not only hazardous but many times impossible, in spite of the great ability of such men as Porter. Another point that helped spell success for the North in Northeast Missouri was the Union partisanship of the owners and controllers of the two railroads mentioned above. And it should be mentioned here that the personal interest at stake by these roads, especially the Hannibal & St. Joseph, did much to inform the Union generals of their (the Union) mistakes and again often ameliorated conditions for the people along that line who were subject to over-zealous Federal commanders.

On June 12, 1861, Governor Jackson issued his call on the people of Missouri to defend their State. This call for "State Guards," under Major-General Sterling Price, was eagerly responded to by many of the Southern sympathizers in Northeast Missouri.

As early as July, 1861, hostilities began in this section around Monroe City (July 14) and Palmyra, the Federal

forces occupying both places. During this month Brigadier General John Pope was assigned to the command of the Union forces in the North Missouri district. He at once issued orders whose purpose was to check secession by requesting each section of that district to see that it protected all Union property therein. On July 29, 1861, Brigadier General S. A. Hurlbut, of the United States Army, took up his headquarters at Macon City and proceeded to distribute the Union forces with the view of protecting the property of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad from Quincy and Hanibal to St. Joseph. Colonel U. S. Grant, later President of the United States, was stationed at Mexico, and Colonel L. F. Ross at Warrenton. If all the Union commanders who later came into Northeast Missouri had acted with the same business-like courtesy and consideration to the inhabitants that Grant did while on his short stay here, there would have been far less to write of the history of the Civil War in that section.

The engagement at Monroe City deserves a passing comment. It was the only canon battle that was fought in Monroe county. Hon. T. A. Harris, State Representative from Monroe county, was given the rank of Brigadier General July 5, 1861, with 500 recruited Southern troops under him. By the 14th Harris had over 1,000 men at Monroe City, where an engagement took place with the Federal troops. After the battle Harris advised retreat and set out with his command, which had been augmented to between 1,200 and 1,500. The first actual service of U. S. Grant in the Civil War was against Harris on the latter's retreat from Hunnewell to Florida (Monroe county). Near Fulton, Harris was again engaged with some Union troops, under Colonel McNeil, in an affair known as the "Fulton Races," and the former's force was defeated and scattered.

All during July the Southern troops had been enlisting in and around Marion county. The Union officials and soldiers acted so as to greatly incense the people in the places where they were stationed. Colonel Martin E. Green, brother of the Hon. James S. Green, of Lewis county, was the leader and organizer of the Southern cause in Northeast Missouri during the summer of 1860. Hon. John McAfee and Marmaduke, of

Shelby, Hon. T. A. Harris, of Monroe, Colonel Martin E. Green and Colonel Porter, of Lewis, and Mr. Anderson, Representative of Marion county, did more for the South in 1861, and in fact throughout 1861-1862, than any others in that section—this of course does not include General Sterling Price, who was south of the river during the war. The recruiting quarters of Colonel Green were near Monticello in Lewis county. From here about the first of August, he moved north into Clark county, and on August 5th was defeated in battle near the town of Athens (Clark county). This affair took place about twenty miles northwest of Keokuk, Iowa. Colonel Green's force is estimated at between 800 and 1,800, consisting mostly of cavalry and besides this having two canons. The Union troops consisted of 400 "Home Guards" of Clark county and two companies of United States Volunteers from Keokuk, under Colonel David Moore, of Clark county. Colonel Moore had no canon. The fight lasted an hour, and the Southern forces were decidedly defeated.

After this engagement Colonel Green retreated with his force to Lewis, Knox and Marion counties to reorganize. Here also gathered Captain Kneisley, of Marion county, with his battery, made famous at the battle of Lexington, September 10-20, 1861, and General Tom Harris, commander of the State Guards of that section.

In the second installment of this paper the "Story of the Civil War in Northeast Missouri" will be resumed at this point. The brilliant campaign of Generals Green and Harris, and the outwitting of the Union generals by these two men in 1861, will furnish the introductory pages to the next article. This will be followed by a brief account of the war at the "Close of 1861" and the preparations made by both sides during the winter and spring of 1862. The dashing work of Colonel Joseph C. Porter, and the crushing of his forces by General Odon Guitar and Colonel John McNeil, during the summer of 1862, will be treated more at length. The remaining years of the war will then be sketched with reference to the work of the Union on the one hand and the activities of the guerilla bands on the other.

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER.

(To be concluded.)

HISTORY OF MISSOURI BAPTIST GENERAL ASSOCIATION. (1)

Baptists are a pioneer people. From the days of Roger Williams to this good hour they can claim with modest, but righteous pride, that they have been pioneers not only in civil and religious liberty, but in that progressive spirit which has led the advance guard of civilization as it has pushed westward to possess the land. In 1806, but three years after the purchase of the Louisiana territory by Thomas Jefferson from Napoleon, Baptists, who had already had an organization for several years, erected the first Protestant meeting house west of the Mississippi river. They called it Bethel. It was near Jackson in Cape Girardeau county. In 1906 the Baptist General Association unveiled and formally dedicated a monument upon the spot in honor of the great event it commemorated.

One other church organization called Tywappity had been effected a year prior to the organization of Bethel, in the same vicinity, and as early as 1798 there were Baptists in other places in what is now Missouri. The first Protestant preacher who ever preached a sermon west of the Mississippi river is said to have been one John Clark, a Baptist, who preached in Cape Girardeau county as early as 1798.

The next Baptist church organized after Bethel was Fee Fee in St. Louis county still in existence on the site of the St. Louis Orphans' home.

In 1809 a church called Coldwater was organized in St. Louis county and the same year a church was established by the settlers at Loutre in Montgomery county.

In 1812 Mount Pleasant church was organized in Kincaid's Fort opposite Boonville, near to the present site of New Franklin. Its hundredth anniversary was recently celebrated. A brief reference to the settlement of that section of Missouri

1. Address of E. W. Stephens at Baptist Assembly at Arcadia, Missouri, Wednesday, August 14, 1912.

may be of interest, for it was there the General Association was born.

In 1810, but four years after the organization of Bethel a party of hardy immigrants under Benjamin and Sarshell and Braxton Cooper pushed forward to Central Missouri, then the abode of savages, and here after four years of untold hardships, in forts and in incessant war with Indians, cut off from civilization and access to the necessities of life, they finally succeeded in establishing the most remarkable community any country ever knew. The elements of intelligence, heroism, culture, statesmanship and religion which entered into that primeval settlement stand in their high character without a parallel in previous history. Most of them were Baptists. There were several Baptist preachers in this company, among them David McClain and William Thorp.

One statement of the institutions and business establishments in Old Franklin, published in the Intelligencer paper issued in that town in 1819, mentions the remarkable fact that there were six Baptist church organization. Undoubtedly a large majority of the people were Baptists and continued to be for many years.

Outside of St. Louis and a settlement in the southeast portion of the state most of the population of Missouri for many years was confined to what is known now as the Central Missouri counties.

It was twenty-eight years after the organization of Bethel church in 1806 before an attempt was made to effect a state organization. These were the formative years in the history of Missouri. In 1812 the territory of Missouri was organized, the name changed from Louisiana Territory, and in 1821 the state was admitted into the Union. After the making of peace with England and the Indians in 1815, there was a steady inpour of immigrants, most of them from Kentucky and Tennessee who settled largely along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. It was a population marked for its intelligence, thrift, courage and progressive spirit.

Life was crude, severe and strenuous. Conditions were primitive. It was many years before the time of railroads

or telegraph and most of the modern conveniences. Educational facilities were poor and money scarce. The log cabin, the rifle, the crude implements of industry were the typical features of the rude life of the day. Necessarily moral conditions were at a low ebb. Whiskey was cheap and in most of the homes, and the sports of the people were characterized by an abandon and recklessness which led to broils and bitterness. Political feeling was intense, and all the conditions were such as to render religious progress difficult and strenuous.

In religion Baptists largely predominated. Many churches were organized and several district associations, among others Bethel in the Southeast, Missouri in St. Louis and Mount Pleasant in Howard county. Such able pioneer preachers as John M. Peck, J. E. Welch, Louis Williams, Thomas R. Musick, David McLain, William Thorp, Ebenezer Rogers, Jeremiah Vardeman, Thomas P. Green and many others, preached the gospel in purity and power. There was a virility, an orthodoxy, a consecration, an intelligence in the religious life of the people in contrast with much of the shallowness and heresy of a later period, when people became more engrossed in commercialism and the perplexing problems of a developing civilization. The lonely life of the pioneer, the hardships and privations which encompassed him made him susceptible to religious influences and opened his mind and heart to the truths of the gospel. In his isolated and strenuous conditions his thoughts turned heavenward, and sought the strength that came from above. His religious faith was very real and active, and his religious life was something more than a moral one. The Bible to him was not a code of ethics only, but a revelation of life, and beyond its lessons of love and purity and goodness he discerned the doctrine of sin and salvation and that he must be born again. It is doubtful if civilization and education make men wiser religiously. God has revealed many things to babes which have been concealed from the wise. It was a rich soil of orthodoxy well cultivated by our ancestors out of which sprang the General Association seventy-eight years ago.

The Baptist General Association practically had its origin in Howard county. In 1833 at the home of John Jackson, Thomas Fristoe, Ebenezer Rogers and Fielding Wilhite met and determined to effect an organization, the purpose of which should be "to relieve religious destitution in this state."

The result of this conference was the calling of a meeting of representatives of Baptist churches from St. Charles, Pike, Ralls, Marion, Montgomery, Boone, Callaway, Howard, Chariton, Cooper and Cole at Providence church about midway between Fulton and Jefferson City in Callaway county, on August 29th, 1834.

The preachers present were: Jeremiah Vardeman, William Hurley, Egenezer Rogers, James Suggett, Jabez Ham, J. B. Longan, Walter McInie, J. C. McCutchen, Noah Flood, Kemp Scott, J. W. Maxey, Fielding Wilhite, William H. Duval, Thomas Fristoe, Robert S. Thomas, G. M. Bower and Anderson Woods.

Laymen present were: William Wright, J. G. Berkley, David Moore, William Armstrong, James M. Fulkerson, John Sweatman, S. Hiter, M. D. Nowlen, W. Major, William Dozier, Thomas S. Tuttle and Jeremiah Vardeman, Jr.

It was called "the Baptist Central Convention." The next year when it met at Little Bonne Femme church in Boone county the name was changed to "Central Baptist Society," and in 1838 at Big Lick in Cooper county it was changed to "Missouri Baptist General Association." The objects of the organization were declared to be "the preaching of the gospel in the destitute regions of this state."

Jeremiah Vardeman, a preacher of great power, was elected Moderator and Robert S. Thomas, a minister of high scholarship, afterwards President of William Jewell College, was made the clerk. The personnel of the body was of a high order. While some were unlearned, others were highly educated, and a majority were intellectually vigorous and well grounded in the fundamentals of religion. The strenuous and combative spirit of the pioneer life was made manifest in the religion of the people, who were not content with the mere ethics of Christianity, but grappled with its vital problems.

Among those present but not enrolled were several ministers of power and eminence who did not agree with those who participated in the organization. They did not believe in human agencies for the spread of the gospel and the conversion of the unsaved. In other words they were opposed to missions. Theodric Boulware and T. Peyton Stephens were the leaders of this anti-mission element. The result was a permanent split in the denomination into the Primitive or Regular and the Missionary Baptists. This opposition between the missionaries and anti-missionaries continued for many years, but with constantly losing results to the antis, until at the present day their members and influence are insignificant.

In 1836, two years after the organization of the General Association, the number of Missionary Baptist churches in the state was 150, of ministers 77, and the members were 5,367. The number of anti-missionary churches was 80, of ministers 49, and of members 3,366. Ten years later, in 1846, there were 292 missionary Baptists churches, 144 ministers and 15,331 members. The anti-missionaries at that time had 118 churches, 57 ministers and 4,336 members. The missionaries had increased 9,964, anti-missionary, 970.

In 1845 occurred the division between the Baptists north and south, and the organization of two sets of boards. In 1846 the Missouri Baptist General Association formally aligned itself with the Southern Baptist Convention and has so continued until this date although it appoints delegates and sends contributions both north and south.

When the General Association was organized the state did not contain over 250,000 people. St. Louis was a town of but 7,000 to 8,000 and conditions were primitive. But such strenuous surroundings developed men religiously and intellectually far more than do the enervating influences of ease and luxury and plenty. In the midst of such limited beginnings religious progress necessarily was slow. From 1836 to 1846 the total number of missionaries employed was fourteen, of baptisms 376, and the total contributions to state missions for all this period was but \$2,857.38, less than they are at the present time within one month.

But contributions greatly increased afterwards, and between 1846 and 1856 they averaged \$1,250 per year. From 1856 to 1861 the amount expended in Missouri for state missions was \$11,327.59 or an average of \$2,663.79, more than double that of the previous decade. In 1853 there were 25,000 Baptists in this state. This number probably grew to 45,000 by the opening of the Civil War in 1861. At that time there were 750 churches and 450 ministers in the state. Facilities for the gathering of statistics were not good in those days, but these figures are probably within range of the facts.

The period from the organization of the General Association to 1834 until the opening of the Civil War in 1861 was one of tumultuous excitement politically and religiously. Sectional passions and bitterness which were to burst into the flame of war permeated both church and state and impeded the work of a religion whose leader was the Prince of Peace and whose doctrines are those of forgiveness and love. The most important movement inaugurated by the General Association prior to the Civil War was that to establish an educational institution. Our forefathers sorely felt the handicap of a lack of education, especially in the ministry. Therefore in 1843 William Jewell, then residing in Columbia, offered to give \$10,000 towards the establishment of a college, one of whose departments should be devoted to the training of preachers. The result was the establishment within a few years of William Jewell College.

Among those who were conspicuous as leaders prior to the Civil War might be mentioned among the preachers Jeremiah Vardeman, Noah Flood, Robert S. Thomas, Fielding Wilhite, A. P. Williams, J. B. Longan, Anderson Woods, James Suggett, Isaac T. Hinton, and among the laymen, Uriah Sebree, R. E. McDaniel, David H. Hickman, Samuel C. Major, William Jewell, O. P. Moss, Roland Hughes, Wade Jackson, W. M. McPherson. Most of them were men of vigorous, rugged and sterling virtues and aggressive qualities. It was a period when the intelligence of the masses was not as high or general as of this later period when education facilities are so

abundant and free. Hence it was favorable to the development of leadership, and of causing those who were leaders to become more conspicuous, influential and self-assertive than in times when intelligence is more generally diffused. Both in politics and religion preachers and orators became oracles who were regarded with an honor approaching veneration. This fact of itself made the leaders stronger than if less deference had been paid them.

Those were days of fierce controversy in church and state, when foundations were being laid or seed was being sown which was to bear fruit, some evil, others good. While it was in some respects the day of small things, it was the time of seed sowing, of formations, of beginnings which were to project its power far into the future. It was a day of giants, when preachers preached great sermons, discussed the profound doctrines of the Bible, and the people read the Bible and were grounded in its truths. In these days of sermonettes and shallowness, when superficial ethics have been substituted for doctrinal beliefs we might do well to consider the value of those good old days when men delved beneath the surface of things and dealt in verities rather than vagaries, in substance instead of shadow. Our day has its advantages in refinement and prosperity and in liberality, but it has likewise its deficiencies in its lack of thoroughness. We may study with profit the methods of our ancestors, to whose fealty to the faith we owe so much.

Our denomination suffered in common with all other interests from the terrible effects of the Civil War. No session of the Association was held in 1864, and while there were meetings each of the other years, mission work was largely paralyzed and but little was accomplished. At the close of the war our brethren found themselves divided upon the same lines that had rent the nation in twain. The new constitution of Missouri better known as the Drake Constitution adopted in 1865, contained a provision prescribing a test oath wherein preachers of the gospel were required to swear that they had had not participated in or sympathized with the Confederate states in the war of secession. Nearly all the preachers be-

longing to the General Association refused to subscribe to this oath, and that body at its meeting in Boonville in 1865 formally protested against what they regarded as arbitrary and unwarranted violation of the Bill of Rights of our government guaranteeing civil and religious freedom. Soon afterwards this odious provision of the Constitution was repealed, but during its existence several Baptist ministers were arrested for refusing to subscribe to it.

In 1865 a Baptist state convention composed of those who were in sympathy with the Northern Board and also with the Northern states was organized. Rev. Galusha Anderson, of St. Louis, was made President, W. S. Ingram and D. J. Hancock, vice presidents, C. A. Bateman, recording secretary, E. W. Pattison, corresponding secretary, and Nathan Cole, treasurer. It held but three sessions when it disbanded and its members joined the General Association.

After the Civil War our denomination resumed its work in missions and education with renewed vigor. In 1869 the greatest meeting to that date in its history was held by the General Association in Columbia. A large amount of money was subscribed to William Jewell College, to which presidency Rev. Thomas Rambaut, D. D., had been called and the institution took on new life. It has now an endowment and property worth a million of dollars, and an attendance of 550 students. In 1870 the Association adopted at its session in St. Louis, Stephens College as a State school for young women, changing its name from Baptist to Stephens in honor of James L. Stephens, who gave \$20,000 to its endowment. The College was deeded to the General Association and has remained its property since that time. Its endowment of \$20,000 has been re-invested until it has grown to double that amount, while new buildings have been added increasing its original value from \$100,000 to \$200,000.

Since the organization of the General Association the supervision of the work of State Missions has been under a Board specially appointed for the purpose. Originally the officers of the General Association constituted this Board. Later a special Board was appointed, and this has remained

the rule until this time. A corresponding secretary or Superintendent of Missions was employed who had special direction of the missionaries engaged, and investigated and reported the churches which were worthy to be beneficiaries of the fund. These corresponding secretaries have been among the most capable men of the denomination. The first one employed was R. S. Thomas. After him Leland Wright, Samuel C. Major, Nathan Ayers and Wade M. Jackson filled the place prior to the Civil War. After the war J. M. Robinson, S. W. Marston, Joshua Hickman, W. R. Rothwell, W. Pope Yeaman, J. D. Murphy, S. M. Brown, J. C. Armstrong, W. T. Campbell and T. L. West, the present incumbent, and others are among those who have served in this capacity. Before the Civil War Anderson Woods and Noah Flood and others did much of the work of raising funds, while the corresponding secretaries as their title indicates, remained at home and conducted their business by correspondence.

The State Board of Missions has ever been the representative body of the General Association to carry into effect the purposes of its constitution, the preaching of the gospel to destitute persons within the boundary of Missouri. Thousands of Missionaries have been employed, many hundreds of churches have been established and aided, and the growth of our denomination and the efficiency and extension of its work have been more due to the wisdom, energy and faithfulness of those who constitute this Board than to any other cause.

Dr. W. Pope Yeaman in his admirable History of the General Association makes the statement that from its organization in 1834 until the issuing of his history in 1898, the total amount subscribed to State missions in Missouri had been \$315,961. The largest amount given in any one year up to that time had been \$15,799; the smallest \$69. Its total number of baptisms had been 26,582 and of sermons 120,331. Since 1898 fourteen years have passed. Within that period it is safe to say that at least half as much has been accomplished as during the sixty-four years previous. In fact it would be a safe estimate that Missouri Baptists have contributed a half million dollars to State missions since 1834 and

that the baptisms by Missionaries under the employ of the State Board have been fully 50,000. This estimate does not include the work done by district mission boards or the money contributed to district missions which is really as much State mission work as any other.

Reviewing the work done by the General Association in Missouri during the now nearly eighty years of its history, we have reason to praise God and take courage. In 1834 there were less than 9,000 Baptists in Missouri. They had grown to 45,000 in 1861, to 100,000 in 1884, and were 212,870 in 1911, according to the statement in the minutes of the General Association of that year. We had in 1834 but little over 200 churches. Now we have nearly 2,000. In 1834 one out of every thirty of the population of the State was a Baptist, now one out of every twenty can easily be reckoned.

We contributed in 1911 to

District Missions.....	\$ 38,618
State Missions.....	37,189
Home Missions.....	20,736
Foreign Missions.....	36,966

Total to Missions..... \$133,509

Besides this we gave to

Church Expenses.....	\$ 713,183
Sunday Schools.....	38,618
Education	10,537
Miscellaneous	122,529

Total to all causes..... \$1,018,376

A contribution within one year of one million dollars to the extension of the Kingdom of God is some growth since 1834 when the General Association was ridiculed as "a cockatrice den from whence would spread a serpentine brood to plague God's children." The growth in the past ten years has far exceeded the ratio of any previous period, but we can surpass this in the years that are to come.

In 1884 the semi-centennial of the Association was celebrated at its annual session at Marshall. A number of very interesting addresses were delivered and were bound in a handsome volume.

Although after the union of the Baptist General Convention in 1867 with the General Association our brethren had continued to dwell in peace and harmony, yet the fact that our membership was divided in its affiliations with the North and South began to create confusion and to threaten friction. Churches were being visited by representatives of boards North and South and were solicited for contributions. There was not only danger of the churches being arrayed against each other, but of them duplicating contributions and of the members of the same church getting into antagonism.

To allay what was a serious menace to unity and brotherliness a Board of Home and Foreign Missions composed of nineteen members was organized at the meeting of the Association in Jefferson City in 1889. To this Board it was requested that all contributions to home and foreign missions be sent with the promise that they would be distributed in accordance with the wishes of the contributors. The Boards were requested to withdraw all agents and to make no efforts to solicit funds except with the approval of our Board. The churches and the boards promptly and beautifully acquiesced in what has become famous as "The Missouri Plan," and which has been in successful operation now for twenty-three years. The contributions have grown splendidly, the general boards are well satisfied, and our brethren are dwelling together in beautiful unity.

For the formulation and the successful execution of this plan our denomination is indebted more to our lamented brother Manly J. Breaker, deceased, than to any other one man. Among the secretaries who have represented this Board have been T. M. S. Kenney, B. G. Tutt, S. F. Taylor, W. L. Boyer, M. J. Breaker, J. C. Armstrong and the present incumbent, H. E. Truex.

Our educational work is looked after by boards of curators of William Jewell and Stephens Colleges, the boards of other Baptist Colleges, and a board of education appointed annually by the Association. Some years ago the Orphans' Home and Sanitarium, both located in St. Louis, were taken under the charge of the Association.

A ministers' aid society was organized in 1885 which reports annually to the association and which has an endowment of some \$10,000, the interest upon which together with life and annual memberships are devoted to the aid of superannuated and disabled ministers and their wives.

Woman's work and Sunday Schools are also given adequate attention. In fact the General Association has taken under its charge not only the missionary, but the philanthropic and eleemosinary work of our denomination, and is managing them all with wisdom, statesmanship and the spirit of a beautiful brotherhood.

Before closing this sketch it will be proper to call attention to some of those who have been conspicuous in the work of the General Association, as well as of those who have presided over it since its organization. The following is a list of its moderators:

- 1834 to 1835, Jeremiah Vardeman, two years.
- 1836 to 1839, J. B. Longan, three years.
- 1840, James Suggett, one year.
- 1841 to 1843, and 1846 to 1848 Uriah Sebree, six years.
- 1844 to 1846, Roland Hughes and
- 1850 to 1854, Roland Hughes, seven years.
- 1849 and 1855, William Carson, two years.
- 1856 and 1868, D. H. Hickman, two years.
- 1857 and 1859 to 1862, R. E. McDaniel, five years.
- 1863 to 1867, A. P. Williams, five years.
- 1869 and 1870, Noah Flood, two years.
- 1871, X. X. Buckner, one year.
- 1872 to 1873, J. B. Wornall, two years.
- 1874 to 1876, L. B. Ely, three years.
- 1877 to 1896, W. Pope Yeaman, twenty years.
- 1897 to present time except 1907, E. W. Stephens, fourteen years.
- 1907, J. F. Kemper, one year.

Of the sixteen moderators since the organization of the Association seventy-eight years ago eight have been ministers and eight laymen.

While it would be impossible to enumerate all who have aided in the great work in which the Association has been engaged, there are a few who stand out so conspicuously that their names should be preserved for all time.

Among these may be recalled Jeremiah Vardeman, Uriah Sebree, S. C. Major, L. B. Ely, D. H. Hickman, T. M. James, W. Pope Yeaman, Chas. H. Hardin, W. F. Elliott, J. A. Read, Thos. Rambaut, S. H. Ford, James L. Stephens, William Jewell, W. R. Rothwell, E. S. Dulan, X. X. Buckner, A. P. Williams, Jno. B. Wornall, J. T. Williams, W. M. McPherson, W. M. Bell, Noah Flood, and a host of others.

It is but just to say that no class of citizens of Missouri have contributed more intelligently and substantially to the intellectual, material, social, moral and religious development of Missouri than have the Baptists of this State since its organization, and who have been represented in their State organization, the General Association.

I deem it a great honor that for forty-one years I have been an almost constant member of this great body of Missouri Baptists, that for seven years I was its clerk and for the past fifteen years with but one year's intermission I have been its presiding officer. I cannot find language to express the gratitude I feel for the honors that have been given me and the confidence that has been placed in me by my brethren to whom I am bound by ties of affection which can never be severed. I know of no other heritage which I can more gratefully and proudly bequeath to my children than to have been an humble and feeble factor in this body which has done and is doing so much to extend the kingdom of God in the world.

WHAT I SAW AT WILSON'S CREEK.

In a division of the people of Missouri in 1861 which places those who favored the Union unconditionally, and war as the necessary means of preserving the Union, and who regarded all other questions as of secondary importance, into one class; and those who favored secession, those who favored the Union with guarantees of constitutional rights, and those who favored the individualism of the state—or state neutrality—into another class, a clearer view may be had of the factors which determined the result of the military operations in the state. The first class, much the smaller, comprised many men of influence and wealth, and was guided by men of great ability, who clearly understood the situation, and who ignored all restraints of law which stood in the way of the accomplishment of their purpose. The second class was the party of the lost opportunity. It expected the Confederate government to solve the problem, not realizing that that government had forgotten, (as it had forgotten), that **inter arma silent leges**. Its failure to see the crisis lost to the Confederate cause the field service of thousands in north and central Missouri, the material for the best soldiers in the world.

I was in St. Louis, on Wednesday, June 12, 1861, when Governor Jackson's proclamation calling for fifty thousand volunteers to "drive out ignominiously the invaders" was issued. The manner of its reception satisfied me that General Fremont was correct in his estimate of political sentiment when he wrote: "At the start I found myself in an enemy's country, the enemy's flag displayed from houses and recruiting offices. St. Louis was in sympathy with the South, and the state of Missouri was in active rebellion against the national authority." (1) I left the city the following Saturday morning, by way of the old North Missouri railroad, for Wentzville, where a private conveyance took me to my home at Millwood, in Lincoln county. On the train were companies E and I of Colonel B. Gratz Brown's Fourth Missouri Regiment, U. S.

1. Battles and leaders of the Civil War, Volume 1, page 279.

Volunteers, under command of Major Shaw, bound for St. Charles for the purpose of protecting the railroad bridge between that point and Warrenton, and of overawing the strong secession sentiment in the northern part of St. Charles county. They were well armed and equipped and seemed to be well drilled, but I did not find many who understood the English language. At Wentzville I met Virginius Randolph, who lived in the vicinity. He informed me that owing to advanced age and physical infirmities his father, Beverly Randolph, had regretfully declined the appointment of brigadier-general in the state guard tendered him by Governor Jackson.

Reaching home early in the afternoon, I found Lieutenant John Q. Burbridge, of the Louisiana military company, and afterwards colonel of our regiment, drilling a number of the boys in the village. I immediately enlisted. The next morning we went by wagons to Louisville, the next village. Here, in the afternoon, came two companies of cavalry from the vicinity of Prairieville, commanded by Captains E. B. Hull (2) and Arch. Bankhead—about two hundred young recruits for the infantry service; and, what was of more present need, a wagon containing all the muskets and equipments of the Louisiana military company, stolen from its armory by two of its members, William F. Carter (3) and Frederick Ferdinand Weed, later the captain and orderly sergeant, respectively, of my company. Colonel Thomas L. Snead (4) says there were about one hundred and fifty of these muskets, but there were certainly not over half (and most probably not over one-third) as many. The theft of these arms had been planned by Colonel Burbridge, but it was only taking for the use of the state what belonged to the state. Our march to the front began Monday morning. Through Montgomery, Callaway, Boone and Howard it was a triumph, with only one incident to chill our enthusiasm—the night we camped on the fair grounds at Columbia visitors informed us that the influence of Rollins, Switzler and Guitar was strong for the Union. We were nearly

2. Afterwards lieutenant-colonel in Cockrell's brigade.
3. Promoted to major, and killed in the bloody battle of Franklin, November 30, 1864.
4. "The Fight for Missouri," page 218.

a thousand strong when we crossed the Missouri river at Glasgow. On Sunday, in the western part of Saline county, Colonel Burbridge came to our little squad, saying that in view of the difficulties in the way of getting so many unarmed men through to the army, he wished ten of us to volunteer to guard a wagon loaded with muskets and other guns, except side arms, and by a forced march to overtake Governor Jackson. This intention could not be exactly carried out as Carter and Weed, Louisiana, Pat Farrell and John Smith, of Bowling Green, D. H. Shields, James Appler and Pat Lally, of Hannibal, Joe Davis, of Pike county, Henry Skinner, of Truxton, Morgan Show, of Middletown, David H. Stewart and John Davis, of Louisville, and Pat Murphy, George A. Mudd and Joseph A. Mudd, of Millwood, and two or three others whose name I can not recall, persisted in the determination to go forward. The others returned home to await a more propitious time.

The ten days' march to Spring River in Barton county, less Sunday's rest after reaching the governor's camp a few miles south of the Osage river, was a hard one, and each day's march ended with a two hours' hard drill. Our ration was so small a quantity of corn meal and salt each morning that we could have eaten the ten days' allowance at one sitting. Shortly after starting we picked up Perry Mason, a cross-eyed tailor, who proved to be a good soldier, and the next day J. W. Boyce, who wore red whiskers and said that he had gone through the Mexican war. A few hours before joining the governor's forces, we fell in with about twenty armed men, part of a company enlisted on the line of Lincoln and Warren counties by Captain George Carter, of Troy, and their offer to consolidate was accepted. Their names, as far as I can remember, were Felix Logan, C. Kent, William L. Wingfield, Thomas S. Hudson, Daniel Shea, Robert W. Tanner, William A. Deaver, David M. Stultz, Jack Rector, Rolla Carter, Hop Carter, John Bowles, Cave Dyer and one or two of his brothers or cousins, all nephews of Judge D. Pat Dyer, and one late recruit, William G. Sterling, of St. Louis county. Add to these two lists Thomas H. Bacon, of Palmyra, who joined us July 12, and take from it John Davis, missing since the battle of Carthage, Felix

Logan, sent home to procure enlistments, John Smith, detailed as teamster, and one of two camp guards, and it will represent the strength of our company at the battle of Wilson's creek.

We encamped at Spring Creek at noon on July 3, and that afternoon organized, electing John Q. Burbridge captain, J. W. Boyce first lieutenant, Felix Logan second lieutenant, and William F. Carter third lieutenant. We were assigned as Company B to a regiment which organized with Captain Burbridge as colonel, Edwin W. Price lieutenant-colonel, and John B. Clark, Jr., major, and which constituted the infantry of General John B. Clark's division.

At daybreak July 5 we began a rapid march, struck Sigel on the prairie north of Carthage at 10 o'clock, and drove him out of Jasper county. Four days later we were with Price at Cowskin Prairie. The two weeks' stay here was not a period of repose. Nearly five thousand unarmed men, few of whom had ever heard a drill command, had to be made ready quickly to meet about an equal number of well drilled, well armed, well equipped troops. Provisions were scarce, but the lead mines of Granby were convenient, and bullet molds and powder were fairly plentiful. Cartridge making and drilling were going on every hour in the day and far into the night. General Price made the most of his scant resources. Competent drill masters were few and far between, but every tyro who could direct a few of the most rudimentary movements was put into requisition. The vacancy in our captaincy was filled by the selection of Third Lieutenant Carter, a master of tactics and discipline, and the new vacancy by the election of C. Kent. Ferd Weed was made the orderly and Daniel Shea the second sergeant. Our company was without doubt the best drilled in the army. One incident shows that the army was practically undrilled. A day or two before the northward march was begun our company furnished four men and the Brunswick company two men and a sergeant for headquarters' guard. When the day's work was done General Price praised it by saying that ours was the only real guard he had had.

This great awkward squad, full of faith, hope and courage, turned its face toward the enemy Thursday, July 25, and on

Sunday reached Cassville, where were met the forces of McCulloch and Pearce. In the three days of camp association with the Arkansas, Louisianans and Texas we felt, rather than heard, that the Missourians were considered inferior to the others in the qualities that go to make the soldier, but we felt also that in the coming event the valor of Missourians might be demonstrated. The march of seventeen miles ending at Moody's Spring and embracing the time between 2 o'clock in the morning and 6 o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, August 5, was, perhaps, the hardest ever made by any army. Expecting to meet the enemy in force, the whole army marched in close column, in lock-step, eight abreast. The day was intensely hot. The road lay for the most part in a shallow canyon, the heavy growth on either side shutting off the slightest motion of air. The dust was a foot deep, and every man was so thickly coated with it as to be not recognizable by his fellows. Not a drop of water could be had, and the thirst was almost maddening. The spring was a bold stream a dozen feet wide, issuing from the base of the hill, but a strong guard prevented the men from approaching, except in their turn. A hundred yards nearer was a stagnant pool packed with cavalrymen. I reached down between the hind legs of a horse, scattered the thick green scum, filled my quart cup, and emptied it at one gulp. From my first perception until now nothing half so delicious has ever passed my lips. The next day we camped at the foot of what our work four days later inspired Colonel John T. Hughes, of Slack's division, a soldier in and the historian of Doniphan's Expedition, to christen "Bloody Hill." Clark's and Parsons' divisions had always camped together. Our camp was now immediately west of the Fayetteville road, and that of Parsons just east of it on the north branch of Skeggs' Branch, a short distance above where it emptied into Wilson's Creek. Slack was above Parsons, and Rains still higher up the creek. I never knew where McBride was camped. The Confederates were across the creek.

We were drawn up at sundown Friday, ready to begin the march to Springfield, and the understanding was that Lyon

would be attacked before daylight. One hundred rounds of ammunition were distributed. Our company—B, "Jackson Guards"—had muskets; Company A—"Callaway Guards"—had Mississippi rifles; the other companies had double-barrel shotguns, and all these muskets and shotguns were of the same bore. A few of the men in the various companies had squirrel rifles. At Cowskin Prairie Isaac B. Terrill, of Company A, with myself, made all the cartridges now distributed—and many more. They were of paper, and held nine bullets. The clouds gathered and a few drops of rain fell. Each man's ammunition was carried in a cotton bag—little or no protection against rain. We were ordered to break ranks and sleep on our arms, in view of a probable order to march during the night. The sun rose clear and beautiful on the 10th of August. I had just come off guard duty and, tired and sleepy, had thrown myself on the ground to get a little rest before breakfast, when, almost at the first glint of the sun, a cannon shot broke the stillness of the air. Instantly all was activity. Springing to my feet I saw half a mile to the north the woods blue with Federals. The long roll was beat and preparations for battle were quickly made. The officers were soon mounted, and presently General Price rode up to where General Clark was sitting on his horse in the midst of our company. The latter, pointing to where two hours later the fury of the slaughter raged fiercest, and where the enemy were heavily massed, said: "General, there will be the brunt of the battle, and my men are the ones to take and hold that position." "Very well," replied General Price, "occupy it." We had heard that expression from General Clark before now, and well knew what it meant. The unarmed men began forming in the road near the crossing of the smaller stream, under orders to retreat five miles down the Fayetteville road, and it was commonly said that they numbered two thousand. From their appearance when they returned to camp after the battle I thought the number not over stated. Our little regiment lost no time in falling into line. To every man with a gun of the same bore was given a bag containing about a gallon of bullets, with directions to pour down a handful after ramming

the cartridge home, to hold the butt firmly against the shoulder, and not to fire until within forty yards of the enemy. Colonel Burdridge instructed us to aim at the breeches button, saying that a wound in the region of the stomach, if mortal, would nearly always give the wounded man time to prepare to meet his Maker. The Colonel rode a very unwarlike, undersized bay horse, but as he was a slender man of less than medium height, very erect and graceful, wearing an officer's coat and cap of the old militia, he made a notable appearance on the field. Major Clark rode a fine bay, as did Generals Price and Clark, and wore a soldier's gray jacket and black military hat. These two were the only officers I saw with any pretense of being in uniform. General Clark wore a black broadcloth frock coat and black slouch hat. General Price wore a linen duster and high-crown black wool hat. His was a superb figure, large, and faultless in every detail. It has been truly said that a large battle is the most magnificent spectacle on earth, but looking at the grand scene before me in its greatest intensity, and again at the grand man a few feet away, watchful of every movement on the field, silent, calm and dignified, with countenance expressive of serene confidence in his Missourians, I could not tell which impressed me the more.

It could not have been more than twenty minutes after Totten's first cannon shot before we were moving at quick step in line of battle. We reached the field a few minutes after Slack's infantry on our right, and Guibor's battery immediately on our right, closely followed on our left by the infantry of Parsons, under Colonel Joseph Kelly. The infantry of Rains was first on the field, and occupied the right of the Missouri forces. Considering our want of drill and real discipline, we got to the firing line in good shape, and certainly lost not a minute in getting there. Some considerable time after the firing began McBride's men came up and completed our line on the left. I remember our boys laughing at their odd appearance. All had deer rifles and they knew how to use them. They couldn't stand in a straight line, but all the shells that Totten's battery threw into them could not make

them give back a step. Large black-oak trees grew all over the field, but on Bloody Hill the probable average space between them was fifty yards, with a dense undergrowth between two and three feet high, and here and there bare spots covered with flint stones. Our first volley was delivered at forty yards. At this distance a musket or a shotgun carrying a "handful" of bullets was a terrible weapon. When we passed over the first line where the enemy stood we had to be careful not to tread on the dead or wounded. I noticed two men who in their death agony had torn their clothing from their front; in what of their bodies was exposed one had six bullets in his abdomen and chest, and the other had four. Twenty feet to my right a Federal captain, an intelligent-looking man of about forty or forty-five years of age, whose visible wound was an ugly one in the lower jaw, said to the man about to step over him, "For God's sake give me a drink of water!" "Got none, Bill," (to the man on his left) "got any water?" "No." "Pass the word down." The word passed us, but every response was "No." We had our canteens on, but not a drop of water, and we suffered greatly for want of it that furiously hot day. The word was passed down to the right, with a like result. "Nobody has any water. I've got some whiskey in my canteen; would you like to have a drink of it?" "If you will be so kind." Raising the captain's head with his left hand our man put the canteen to the lips of his enemy. "Got enough?" --after a generous draught had been taken. "Yes, Heaven bless you." The man gently placed the captain's head upon the ground, stepped over him, and with us, who had stopped to watch the scene, went on to renewed murder.

After the battle had raged possibly two or three hours and there was a slight lull in its ferocity, I faced to the rear and saw that the Federals occupied the brow of the hill in front of Sharp's house. We afterwards knew that this was Sigel's brigade. I called my cousin's attention to it, and we agreed that our only chance to escape destruction was to whip the force in front. Could we do it? After what we had accomplished so far against apparently superior numbers, we thought undoubtedly we could. Thus reasoned two inexperienced

boys. About this time a man thirty feet to my right dropped his gun, ran forward, and turning to the left in a circle, passed through our company. He threw himself on the ground a few feet in the rear, tore loose his clothing in front, and began patting his stomach with both hands, saying to the three or four who went to his assistance: "Boys, tell my father I died fighting for my country. Hurrah for Jeff Da—." "Get up, you aren't hurt," said the nearest man, who, bending over him had picked out the bullet, which had flattened to the size of a silver half dollar, and penetrated just far enough to keep its place until loosened by a slight movement of the finger. After that if you didn't want a fight on your hands, you had to be careful where you said, "Boys, tell my father."

Captain Lloyd P. Halleck, of Company G, whose home was in Macon, had been Register of the U. S. Land Office at Palmyra from September 28, 1850 to May 6, 1853. His family consisted of Alonzo, his orderly sergeant, aged nineteen; William, aged thirteen, and a daughter aged sixteen. He was a gentleman of education and refinement, and his sons showed careful training in a cultured home. The mutual affection of the three was noted. Scarcely an hour after the battle began Captain Halleck received a bullet in his forehead and died in the presence of his two anguished sons. Our first advance was now made, and one hour later Alonzo dropped his gun, threw up both arms, staggered, fell with his head resting on Will's lap, gave a gasp, and died. A bullet had pierced his heart. The little fellow cried as if his heart would break. Just then we made another advance; fifteen minutes later Will Halleck came up to the line and fought through to the end. After the battle General Price sent him home. This incident will be vivid in my memory as long as life lasts.

The battle had not been on long when Colonel Burbridge noticed that Colonel Kelly had a red silk handkerchief wrapped around his right hand and asked, "Colonel, are you hurt?" "Oh, G—d— it, no; just a little scratch," was the reply. A shell, from the gun of Totten's battery whih gave us notice that shell, from the gun of Totten's battery which gave us notice that the enemy was upon us,

burst when Colonel Kelly, Colonel James Edwards, of Parsons' staff, and Isaac Fulkerson, of St. Charles, an old steamboat pilot, and now acting as volunteer aid to General Parsons, were sitting around a fire on which their breakfast was cooking. It broke two metacarpal bones for Kelly, gave Fulkerson a slight wound on the hand, and demolished the coffee pot. Colonel Kelly was a good officer and a man of deep religious sentiment, but he had a habit of swearing with almost every sentence. A few minutes after this John Bowles, who had been a little behind the line, stepped up and fired his musket, with the muzzle three inches from Captain Carter's right ear. The Captain faced about and gave the offender a sound scolding in which oaths were freely mingled. I had never before heard swearing in battle, and was much shocked, little thinking that I, who had not in my whole life used such language half a dozen times, would do the same thing a year later, annoyed at the senseless meddling of a comrade. First Lieutenant John B. Haskins, of the Callaway Guards, was the most profuse and redundant swearer I ever met. It was only a bad habit. He was a good and kind man and a good soldier, and had, I think, seen service in the war with Mexico. While giving an order (Captain McIntyre having been shot through the cheek), his right side to the enemy, his sword held aloft, a cannon ball struck him below the armpit and nearly cut him in two. The same missile decapitated Isaac Terrill who, in the act of firing had one knee on the ground, and wounded three men, one very severely.

General Price was immediately behind our company for some time during the heaviest firing. In my hearing he said not a word of encouragement to the men, and only one or two commonplace words to one of his aids, but he closely watched the progress of the battle. General Clark occasionally gave a word of encouragement, but it was nearly always in the line of his confident faith in the outcome, and he would frequently let fall some droll or humorous remark. When severely wounded in the leg, he mentioned it to those near him and said it was "nothing." When he became faint from loss of blood he told the boys he would have to go to the rear, "but," he

added, "I know you will do your duty." This must have been at least an hour after he was wounded.

Colonel Burbridge and Major Clark were particularly watchful of the men, giving a needed word of encouragement here and there. Whenever we fell back a few yards—which we did several times when the enemy's fire seemed so fierce that nothing could live before it—they would indicate a new line for us to stand upon. These little retreating movements were like breathing spells preparatory to another furious onslaught. We were not alone in these maneuvers, but the difference was that in the line wavering we constantly gained ground and the enemy constantly lost. Major Sturgis, who succeeded to the command of the Federal army, alluded to these incidents in his report. Describing events after the death of Lyon he says: "The enemy could frequently be seen within twenty feet of Totten's guns, and the smoke of the opposing lines was often so confounded as to seem but one. Now for the first time during the day our entire line maintained the position with perfect firmness."

About 9 o'clock Colonel Burbridge received a severe minie-ball wound on the head, which momentarily stunned him. As he fell from his horse he was caught by David H. Stewart and George A. Mudd, who carried him to the field hospital. Almost as he fell he gave, in a quick, ringing tone, the command: "Missourians, never run!" A moment later he ordered Major Clark to "lead the men nearer the enemy, and pay no regard to me." Five minutes after Stewart and Mudd returned to the line the former was struck by a minie-ball, which passed through his body from side to side, injuring in its course one of the lumbar vertebrae to the extent that his health was permanently impaired, and he died two years later. Ten minutes after Mudd returned from bearing Stewart to the rear, a shot plowed through the brachial muscle of his left arm. The first man wounded in our company, very probably the first in our regiment, was Tom Hudson. He was tall, gaunt of figure, one-eyed, indifferent to fatigue or danger, fond of a moderate indulgence in drink, much given to droll humor, and popular with all the boys. He stood at my left in the front

rank, and two-thirds on our way hurrying to the battle line, he was struck by a minie-ball, which cost him his right leg. He died two or three years ago, I believe, in the Confederate Home at Higginsville. A few minutes after my cousin was wounded I happened to look to the rear, and saw Colonel James Edwards, aid to General Parsons, sitting on his dead horse, his back to the battle, eating his breakfast, who for nearly forty years has sat through the sessions of Congress at the west door of the Senate chamber. Before the battle ended he had another horse killed under him. Presently the battle increase in fury, and Robert W. Tanner, perhaps the youngest boy in the company, fell, and it was found that his right thigh bone was broken at the middle. Sergeant Shea picked him up and carried him to the rear, but Bob struggled and kicked violently to be free, his injured leg dangling the while, and cried out lustily, "Put me down! put me down! I want to kill some more Yankees!" Bob died some twenty years ago at his home, in Lincoln county. David M. Stultz, who stood in the rear rank behind me received a bullet in his right groin, and died six days later. Not long after this, William L. Wingfield, a quiet man who never shirked a duty of any kind, and who stood next to me on the right, was severely wounded in the left shoulder. He now lives with his brother-in-law, Colonel Edwards, at Foristell, St. Charles county, and writes me that he thinks we are the only survivors of our company. Lieutenant Kent received three slight wounds, to which he paid no attention, but when a bullet penetrated his lungs he had to be taken to the rear. When Thomas H. Bacon was wounded he shot up in the air four feet and came down in his own tracks. The bullet struck the pubic bone near the right groin, traversed his body, and rested just beneath the skin, when it was taken by Dr. Grinstead. His recovery was long and difficult. He was Judge of the Sixteenth circuit from 1886 to 1892. He died several years ago. I did not see William G. Sterling wounded. The bullet entered his right forearm two inches above the wrist and left it just below the elbow, making a troublesome fracture of both bones. Nor did I see Joe Davis when his bullet struck him, entering just to the

right of the stomach and passing out on his left side. He said it was most fortunate that he was fasting, otherwise his stomach would have been punctured, with perhaps fatal results.

Early in the action Captain Guibor, sent by General Parsons to reconnoiter a position on the flank, was captured, and only escaped just before the battle ended. During his absence the battery was handled by John Corkery, a little Irish drillmaster—I do not know why, but probably because Lieutenant Barlow, who was present, had not sufficiently recovered from his wound, received at Carthage. Under Corkery's quick, sharp commands, the firing became more and more rapid, and this was kept up for perhaps an hour or more. Then Corkery was severely wounded, and as he fell he gave the order to cease firing. The exhausted men dropped in their tracks, and I believe they were fast asleep before they touched the ground.

When we first came on the field we struck the First Kansas. It overlapped our little regiment and faced a part of Slack's line. The First Missouri (Federal) fronted Kelly's little regiment and McBride's infantry. With the exception of the First Maine Heavy Artillery at Spottsylvania, May 19, 1864, and the Eighth New York Heavy Artillery at Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864, we inflicted on the First Kansas the greatest mortality of any regiment of the Federal army in any one battle of the war. We killed seventy-seven on the field. The First Missouri (Federal) came next with seventy-six dead on the field. (5) In a slight abatement of the fierce intensity of the action the Second Kansas came down on us. It seemed to me that neither officers nor the men were very hungry for the feast. When they reached the line, however, they stood well. A few days after the battle, going into the courthouse where the Federal wounded were, I met a bright young fellow, and learned that he was a member of the Second Kansas. I asked him what officer it was that followed his regiment into action, riding a small dun-colored horse. "That was our colonel, Mitchell." "Why did he dismount almost immedi-

5. See Fox's "Regimental Losses in the Civil War." First Maine, 81 killed; Eighth New York, 80 killed—per centage of loss not known, and mortally wounded not counted.

ately after getting into line, and not again appear on horse-back?" "Because he is a d— coward." I twitted him a little and, I must admit, rather unjustly, about the behavior of his regiment. He became furious, and snapped out: "What the h—can men do when they have not got an officer that is worth a d—?" More than likely his judgment was at fault. Colonel Mitchell was severely wounded, and Major Sturgis in his report names him with several others as deserving "especial mention for the zeal and courage they displayed." But official reports sometimes praise those who do not, and fail to praise those who do, deserve praise. Colonel Robert B. Mitchell appears to have had a good military record. He served in Mexico as lieutenant in the Second Ohio, was made brigadier-general in 1862, and honorably mustered out in 1866. He died in 1882.

The battle lasted nearly seven hours and was hotly contested nearly the whole time. Two of the seven captains of our regiment were killed, one was absent sick, and one severely wounded. Sergeant-Major Clint Burbridge, brother to the colonel, and the only regimental officer not wounded, had his horse killed, his scabbard so battered by a bullet that he could not sheath his sword. He, with Captains Carter and Martin and Lieutenant Boyce, became separated from us in the surging back and forth, and for half an hour or so we could not see that our regiment had a commissioned officer on the field. But in the midst of it all, and as desperate as the situation appeared, I do not think the idea of retreating from the field entered the mind of a single man.

When the enemy left the field—and their leaving was unexpected—we were glad, and there arose a mighty shout of exultation. Shortly afterwards we were ordered back to camp. As we passed the field hospital I dropped out to inquire about my cousin and the other wounded of our company. While there a Federal surgeon rode up, saying that he had been sent to look after his wounded. After some conversation, Dr. Grinstead asked him if General Lyon had his own papers on his saddle. "Yes." "Well, we killed an officer, and on his saddle were General Lyon's papers. It must be

that General Lyon is killed." The surgeon was deeply affected by this information. This was news to me. I knew that some prominent Federal officer had been killed, but did not at the time know who it was.

The next morning in the camp—a scene of desolation, torn tents, wreck-wagons and dead horses, the effect of the enemy's cannonading—General Clark was sitting before his tent nursing his wounded leg and talking to Colonel Casper W. Bell, his assistant adjutant-general, when he suddenly broke off from his subject with the exclamation, "But didn't my men fight, though! Didn't they fight like devils!"

For a long time the Federal authorities persisted in claiming this battle as a victory. Lieutenant-Colonel James Peckham, Eighth Missouri Federal Infantry, said in his valuable and interesting book, "General Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861," page 340: "The battle of Wilson's Creek was more than a victory! it was a most complete success in every point. The enemy was driven from the field; was forced to burn a large amount of his camp and garrison equipage; was forced to destroy and burn the larger amount of his train, and did not pause in his flight until he ascertained he was in no danger of being pursued." General William M. Wherry, who was awarded a medal of honor, October 30, 1895, "for distinguished gallantry in the battle of Wilson's Creek, Missouri, August 10, 1861, displaying conspicuous coolness and heroism in rallying troops that were recoiling under a most destructive fire, while first lieutenant, Third U. S. Reserve Corps, Missouri Infantry, and aid-de-camp to General Lyon," (6) as late as 1880, in a paper read before the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, and published in its Collections, said: "We know now that he had not stopped short of twelve miles from the battle ground." If we retreated one step, burned or destroyed a wagon, or any article of value, I neither saw nor heard of it, and I was on the scene through it all. I asked Colonel Edwards, a few days ago, how far we retreated at Wilson's Creek. "We retreated three or four times, and from ten to

6. Heitman's Historical Register, U. S. Army, Volume 1,
page 1025.

thirty yards. We fought against superior numbers on Bloody Hill, and there changed the history of the world." "How?" "If we had not killed General Lyon, General Grant would not have been known in the war." Senator Vest, in his speech on the acceptance of the statues of Benton and Blair, referring to General Lyon, says: "If he had lived his fame would have rivalled that of any in the civil war." I thought at the time, and I think now, with Colonel Edwards, that we were slightly outnumbered on Bloody Hill, but the weight of testimony, both Federal and Confederate, is that the reverse is true. However, the testimony on both sides is based on estimates and not on exact data.

The loss in our regiment was severe, but the percentage of loss can not be ascertained. General Price says our regiment numbered 200; Major Clark says 270. Our company had thirty or thirty-two men; of the nine companies only two exceeded our strength; the other six were much below it. Dr. Grinstead's list of casualties in our regiment, as copied in the Missouri Republican of August 25, 1861, totals seventeen killed and eighty-seven wounded, but does not include the names of Bacon and Davis, severely wounded, of our company, which I happen to remember, and there may have been others not included; so that our percentage of loss may have been as low as forty, or it may have exceeded fifty-three.

"The battle of Springfield (or, more strictly, Wilson's Creek)—one of the most desperate ever fought on the continent." (7)

"Never before—considering the numbers engaged—had so bloody a battle been fought upon American soil; seldom has a bloodier one been fought on any modern field." (8)

"Considering the number of men engaged, and the fact that but few of them had ever been under fire, and that a large proportion of them were armed with nothing but shotguns and hunting rifles, it was one of the bloodiest, as it was one of the most memorable conflicts of modern times." (9)

7. General L. Thomas, Adjutant General, U. S. Army, War of the Rebellion, Series 1, Volume 3, page 545.

8. Snead, "Fight for Missouri," page 292.

9. Carr, "Missouri, a Bone of Contention," page 332.

"No man between the two oceans drew his sword with more reluctance or used it with more valor than 'Old Pap Price.' The statement is not too extravagant or fanciful for belief that had he been the sole and absolute commander of the Confederates who won the battle of Wilson's Creek, he would have rescued Missouri from the Unionists." (10)

JOSEPH A. MUDD.

10. Champ Clark, speech on the acceptance of the statues of Benton and Blair.

VANBIBBER TAVERN.

The Vanbibber Tavern just now is often mentioned, having been a well known tavern on the Boon's Lick Trail, I will tell what I know about it, I being a grandson of Isaac Vanbibber, and now in my 85th year.

Major Vanbibber married a daughter of William Hays, her mother being a daughter of Col. Daniel Boone, the marriage having taken place in Kentucky. He came to St. Charles, Missouri, I think, in 1798, and after preparing a home returned to Kentucky, and brought his family to his new home in 1800. The first child born there was Matilda, and the Major claimed that this was the first white child born west of the Mississippi river.

Some time after he moved to Montgomery county, to a place known as Loutre Lick, a name derived from the stream Loutre, and a marshy, shallow salt pond on the north side of the spring branch, and close to its mouth where it fell into Loutre creek. This pond was some sixty yards wide, but went almost dry in the summer season. Deer restorted to it in great numbers to lick the salty soil, from which it was called a lick, and the combination of the two things gave the name Loutre Lick. (1)

The Major built some log cabins, and accommodated the travelers and movers as well as he could; but because it was a popular stopping place for movers and others, he desired better buildings, but no carpenter was within reach, until unexpectedly fortune favored him, and brought him Cyrenus Cox, a carpenter. Mr. Cox was a New Yorker who went down the Ohio near Cincinnati, where he decided to return to his father's home, and started to do so. When he reached Dayton he met a man named McFarlane, who pursued him to stop with him during the winter, and then go with him to Boonville, Missouri. McFarlane was a blacksmith, and during the winter they made a set of blacksmith tools, and a set of carpenter tools, Cox doing the wood work, and McFarlane

1. This is now Mineola, the well known place on the State Highway road.

the iron. In the spring they got a row boat to take them and their tools to Boonville. They went down the Miami to the Ohio river, down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and up that river to St. Louis. There the two men left the boat to walk over the Boon's Lick Trail, and let the boat carry their tools. When they reached Loutre Lick, they stopped for the night, and when it was learned that Cox was a carpenter, Major Vanbibber got him to remain and build the tavern. They then wanted to intercept the boat for their tools. There was an Indian trail to Loutre Island, and making a sleigh jumper they followed this trail, met the boat, and obtained their tools returned to Loutre Lick.

There was no saw mill within reach, so they had to cut down trees, and with broadaxes dress the sills, sleepers, corner posts, rafters, etc., and rive out shingles and weather boarding, dressing all with drawing knives. The floor boards were sawed by building a platform so one man could stand above it, and one under it, and with cross cut saw make the boards.

Before the building was finished Cox had fallen in love with Major Vanbibber's daughter, Fanny, and they agreed to marry. By the time the building was finished the clothes of the two men were worn to rags, and they walked to St. Louis, ninety miles away, and bought suits of clothes appropriate for the wedding. After the wedding Cox built a house near by, where he lived until his children were all grown, and never went to Boonville at all.

Matilda, the first child before mentioned, married James Estill, who settled three or four miles up Loutre creek, where they lived until their children were all grown. There were fourteen of them, and the last one was born when Matilda was forty-eight years old.

HURON BURT.

Calwood, Calloway County.

October, 1912.

NOTES.

An Old Town Plat.

The State Historical Society has received from Mr. Charles Veatch, of Kansas City, the original plat of the town of Bertrand in Mississippi county, Missouri. The town was laid out by H. I. Deal and S. D. Golder, M. D., of Charleston, in the same county, the proprietors of the land, and shows the depot, grounds and tracks of the Cairo and Fulton railroad, which was at that time under construction.

The plat was drawn by William Bellington, engineering surveyor, of Springfield, Illinois, and is dated September, 1859. It contains twenty-five blocks of twenty lots each, a total of five hundred lots. The census of 1910 showed the population of the village to be 346, so that each resident can yet after more than a half century have a lot apiece.

The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society has obtained an appropriation of \$100,000 from the general assembly of Ohio for a building, on the grounds of the Ohio State University at Columbus, Ohio, and the corner stone of the building was laid September 12, 1912. The society was organized in 1875, but in 1883 it became inoperative. In 1885 it was revived and has been active ever since in building up a library and museum. The society has over 200,000 specimens in its museum and 10,000 volumes in its library and will now have a fireproof building in which to house them.

BOOK NOTICES.

Jewish Achievement by Dr. Mendel Silber, Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregation of Saint Louis, with an introduction by Abraham Rosenthal, editor "The Modern View." Saint Louis, 5670—1910. 5x6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. 122 p. 8 pls.

The above is a reprint of what was published in a special number of "The Modern View," which is printed in St. Louis. It gives an account of well known Jews in various occupations and professions. It is noticeable that the book has no one under the head of Rabbi or Minister. With such a list of famous names as this contains, with all the disadvantages under which the race labors in most of the countries of the world, we may expect notable additions from the natives of this country in which they do not labor under the difficulties of the old world.

The Book of St. Louisians. A biographical dictionary of leading living men of the city of St. Louis and vicinity. Second Edition, 1912. St. Louis. The St. Louis Republic. 1912.

Why should a man have no recognition in books of biography until he is dead? A prejudice exists against the publication of the lives of living men, because of the prevalent idea that it requires a money consideration to have a name inserted. In the above book it is claimed that no name was included on account of a financial consideration. The work is very much enlarged from the first edition, and in its 660 pages probably has more than 4000 names, with short biographical account of each. The work is a valuable one, and especially so to the newspaper man.

John Fairfield Dryden. Founder and President the Prudential Insurance Company of America; pioneer of Industrial Insurance in America, United States Senator.

Issued by The Prudential Insurance Company on the first anniversary of the death of its founder.

This beautiful tribute to the memory of a man who in all positions of life commanded the respect and admiration of all

with whom he came in contact has been issued by the Company he founded.

As the founder of an insurance system new to America he has been the benefactor of many thousands, and as a conscientious member of the United States Senate he benefited the country at large.

Concordia Publishing House. Katalog 1912-1913. Deutscher Teil. S. Louis, (1912).

This catalog of 480 pages attests the prominence and activity of this publishing house.

NECROLOGY.

COL. GREEN CLAY was born in Bourbon county, Kentucky, in 1839, a son of Brutus J. Clay, graduated at Yale in 1859, came to Missouri in 1873, when he bought a large farm in Audrain county, on which he resided since 1880 to the time of his death. He was secretary to the American Legation to Russia, and of that to Italy under his uncle, Cassius M. Clay. In 1891 he was a member of the Senate of the Thirty-sixth General Assembly, and in 1903 of the House of the Forty-second General Assembly to fill out the term of his son, Rhodes Clay. He died October 31, 1912.

VIRGIL CONKLING was born January 16, 1865, in Livingston county, and has resided in Kansas City since 1905. He was prosecuting attorney of Jackson county, and was prominent especially in the Hyde trial. He died November 23, 1912, and at the time of his death was a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

MISS POLLY FOUNTAIN died in Centralia October 15, 1912, aged 104 years. She came from Virginia to Missouri ninety years ago.

WILLIAM H. JENNEY was born in Norwalk, Ohio, in 1840; his father and mother came from Massachusetts. He was a descendant of John Jenney, who came to Plymouth on

the "Anne," 1623, and is first mentioned in a division of cattle in that year. Dr. Jenney was a student in Cleveland Homoeopathic Hospital College at the commencement of the Civil War; enlisted and served in Hospital Corps until discharged for physical disability; returned to college and graduated in 1862; opened an office in Toledo, Ohio, and later moved to Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. In 1868 married Laura Tilden Kittredge, of Norwalk, Ohio, and went abroad to study. Studied in Paris and Vienna, and returned to this country in 1870; decided to go West, and spent some weeks in Salina, Kansas, later removing to Kansas City, Missouri. This was in 1870. He speedily acquired a large and lucrative practice amongst the best people of the city.

Dr. Jenney was the first secretary of the State Homoeopathic Medical Society, organized in Sedalia in 1876. He planted Homoeopathy in Kansas City on correct lines, and, with other pioneers who had preceded him, made this system of practice very strong and influential. By reason of ill health Dr. Jenney has been, for some years, incapacitated for the actual duties of medical practice.

Dr. Jenney died in San Diego, California, October 19, 1912. He is survived by his wife and daughter, Miss Mayme Jenney, of San Diego, and a son, F. K. Jenney, of Kansas City; also two sisters, Mrs. C. L. Lovrien and Miss Cecile Jenney, of Kansas City.

HON. GEORGE O. POWELL aged 79 years, died in Renick, Randolph county, October —, 1912. He settled in Randolph county in 1850, attended McGee College, afterwards taught school, and in 1893 was elected from Randolph county as a member of the House in the Thirty-seventh General Assembly. He was afterwards elected sheriff of that county.

GARLAND CARR BROADHEAD, civil engineer, educator, scientist and a member of this Society, of Columbia, was born near Charlottesville, Albemarle county, Virginia. His birth October 30, 1827, near Charlottesville, Albemarle county, Virginia. His parents were born in Virginia, the father of

English parentage, and his mother of Scotch-English descent, she being a cousin of Patrick Henry. The family came to Missouri in 1836 to St. Charles county, where the father was a county judge and where he died in 1853.

In his early days Prof. Broadhead did not have the advantage of schools, but at an early day was proficient in mathematics, Latin and other studies. Later he was a student in the University of Missouri, and the Western Military Institute of Kentucky, in which latter he studied civil engineering. In 1852 he entered the service of the Pacific railroad of Missouri and for more than five years he was in its employ, while the road was being built westward from St. Louis. Only three days before his death he gave the Society a paper on his reminiscences of the building of that road. In 1857 he was appointed Assistant State Geologist of Missouri and served till 1861, doing field work in the summer and preparing his reports in the winter. Again in 1866 he was employed by the Pacific railroad, and lived at Pleasant Hill until 1877. In 1868 he was appointed Assistant Geologist of Illinois, and was so engaged for two years. In 1873 he was made State Geologist of Missouri. From 1879 to 1881 he again was engaged in railroad survey work, and in 1884 became a member of the Missouri River Commission.

From 1887 to 1897 he was professor of geology and mineralogy in the Missouri State University. He was a voluminous writer, and his papers have been published by state and general government, and by various institutions and societies. Prof. Broadhead was married in 1864, at Pleasant Hill, and after the death of his wife he was again married, June 16, 1890, to Miss Victoria Regina Royall, who survives him. He died December 15, 1912, at one o'clock in the morning. He was a very frequent visitor at the rooms of the Society, and much interested in its work, his last visit being only three days before his death.









